1: Karsten--234 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861 (1928-29)

"It is evident from what has been stated in previous chapters, that in regard to the Jibaros we can speak of a real education of children. From the very moment of the child's birth--nay, even before it is born--its physical well-being and normal development is constantly kept in view by the parents, and later systematic instruction is begun, the general aim of which is to make the young man or girl capable of properly performing the various duties incumbent on a full-grown man or woman in society."

1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

1: Karsten--237[2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562 (1928-29)

"We now have to say a few words respecting the education of the boys, to which the Jibaros attach even more importance than to that of the girls. If one asks a Jibaro father what the education of his boy aims at, he will in most cases answer: 'That he may become a real man and a brave and skilful warrior'. Of this the young boys are constantly reminded in the speeches which the father at certain periods addresses to them every day, and which have special reference to the revenge they must take on the enemies of the family.

The art of warfare and all manly exercises in general, the ability to throw the lance, to bring down the animals and birds of the forest with blowgun and poisoned arrows, etc., the Jibaro boy acquires by associating with his father and other older men, his constant endeavour being to imitate the full-grown men and to do what he sees they do. When the boy is six or seven years old his father makes or buys for him a small blowgun with which he assiduously practises shooting, using unpoisoned arrows. With such arrows the boy easily shoots small birds which he immediately prepares and eats. Only after he has passed through the initiation and is received among the full-grown men is he allowed to use the arrow-poison."

1: Karsten--237-238 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787 (1928-29)

"It has frequently been said that savage peoples, bringing up their children in complete liberty, never punish them for disobedience or faults committed. This may be true of many Indian tribes in South America also, but it would certainly be a mistake to hold such an opinion of the Jibaros. It is true that as a rule the boys seem to understand remarkably [238] well what tribal custom demands of them and easily accommodate themselves to the moral views of their people, but there may be exceptions to this rule. The treatment of mischievous boys who openly defy their parents, tease their younger brothers and sisters, break clay vessels, climb up on the roof of the house damaging the thatch, wring the necks of fowls, etc., is sometimes very severe. It is quite a common thing for a father to seize his disobedient boy by the neck and pour tobacco water into his nose or his eyes. Tobacco, that universal remedy of the Indian, is... used as a means of chastisement, and it is quite probable that in this case too it is supposed to have some magically 'purifying' effects. In more serious cases the following form of punishment is resorted to. A small shelter of palm leaves is constructed for the young offender at the bank of the river. Here he is obliged to stay for two days and nights quite alone, eating nothing; he is allowed to drink only water from the river. The strict fasting having in this way made him more tractable, he must finally take a dose of maikoa, the strong narcotic of the Jibaro Indians. The intention behind this radical cure of course is that the youth shall have the usual dreams and visions, see

the arútama, the spirits of the forefathers, who will admonish him and instruct him as to what the custom of the forefathers requires of him as a member of the tribe."

l: Karsten--242 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 881, 177, 276, 861 (1928-29)

"So far I have only related the puberty ceremonies of the Jibaro Indians. Of the CANELOS INDIANS there is, on this point, little to say. There is no doubt that formerly they observed much the same customs as the savage Jibaros, but with the dissolution of their tribal organization, and owing the influence of Christian civilization, these customs already belong to the past. Thus although, as we shall see, narcotics play a quite important part among them, they have no puberty ceremonies in the proper sense of the word either for boys or girls, and being as they are, at least nominally, children of the mission, their own educational systems have long ago degenerated. This is particularly true of the moral influence of their native education. On the other hand, the Canelos Indians also give their children instruction in certain occupations which, according to their division of labour, are incumbent on men and on women, as in certain industrial tasks--for instance the making of arrow-poison, drums, etc., and in pottery making--which are still on a comparatively high level among these half-civilized Indians."

1: Karsten--259-260 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 861, 787, 627 (1928-29)

"The education of the boys among the Jibaros, as we have seen, first of all aims at making them brave and skilful warriors. This is the principal object of the feast Kusúpani, described before, which chiefly consists in tobacco ceremonies and the ceremonial drinking of the narcotic maikoa. Only the Jibaro youth who in the dream produced by these narcotics has seen the ancestral spirits, the arútama, and been spoken to by them, can expect to become a valiant and successful warrior, to kill many enemies, and himself secure a long life. When a Jibaro has enemies on whom he wants to take revenge for offences and outrages, perhaps committed long ago, but despairs of being able to do it himself, he systematically tries to awaken and maintain hatred against them in his young sons by discourse directed to them every day. 'The Shuara So-and-so killed my father, my grandfather, my brothers, while I was a child, carried off my mother, my sisters, and burnt our house. This blood-guilt is not yet washed off. It is the duty of you, my sons, to avenge [260] this crime and to kill the enemy or his sons, who are still threatening our family. If you do this, blessing and good luck will follow you in all your undertakings; you will have a long life and be able to kill many other enemies; your plantations will be richly fruit-bearing; your domestic animals, the swine and the chickens, will prosper and grow numerous; there will never be lack of food in your house,' etc. This discourse is, at times, repeated every morning when the house-father gets up, and with about the same words, and, of course, cannot fail to make an impression upon the minds of the young ones.

When a Jibaro chief goes on a war expedition, he often takes his young sons with him in order that they may early learn the art of war and get accustomed to the bloody scenes which take place."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows:

> Don't suck the blood of my husband
> And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
> When you want to suck blood,
> Suck the blood of my enemies.
> When my husband comes,
> He will look very beautiful and very clear.
> But when our enemies come,
> They will come very pale
> And in the form of demons.[4]
> And you will know
> Who will die,
> Who will die.
> And when they enter this garden,
> They will have their blood sucked.
> All, all I can call,
> Even the plantain itself.
> I am a woman of Nunuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

862 [231] her own infant. Weaning is not emphasized and may not take place until the child is six or seven years old. The mother may accomplish this by putting a mildly hot pepper on her nipples. If that has little effect, she has recourse to a hotter variety.

854 The infant is wrapped loosely in a piece of cloth, which is taken off and used, with water, to wipe the child clean of excrement. The cloth is then washed and dried over a fire for reuse. A baby's excessive crying may be interpreted as evidence that it is "very hot," i.e., has a fever, and the mother may bathe it in lukewarm water to cool the child sufficiently so that it will fall asleep. Sometimes a mother, on being awakened by a baby's crying, will scold and strike it in anger.

868 To teach the child to walk, the father lashes a stave railing around the three open sides of the mother's bed to create a simple "crib" which the child can grasp for support.

863 The attitude toward toilet training is quite relaxed. When a toddler starts to defecate or urinate in the house, it is taken outside; but it is not castigated verbally or otherwise. The mother simply digs up the soiled portion of the dirt floor and throws it out. The simplicity of this solution, together with the fact that adults themselves may urinate on the floor at night to avoid exposing themselves to possible attackers outside the house, helps one understand their attitude. Later, the [861] child is simply told to go outside, but if it fails to do so, there is no condemnatory admonition. Finally, however, if the child is still failing to go out of the house by the time it is about five years old, then the mother will speak her disap- [861] proval. As a last resort, she may spank the child lightly with a vine.

Children are encouraged to wash their hands and to bathe. [861] They are told that if they do not wash their hands before eating, their growth will be delayed and stunted. Girls are

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told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

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small households over a large area results in a very poor communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that meat is not always abundant in the household, depending on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

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ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out.

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves.

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemă* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemă* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the

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Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall.
It emerges where the mountains become stone.
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The normal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hallucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hopefully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child misbehaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.